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Sanctions would set the stage for bloodshed, Shultz warns

By Rita McWilliams
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Secretary of State George Shultz told a Senate panel yesterday that punitive measures against South Africa would heighten the government's siege mentality and create an atmosphere for a bloody revolution "too terrible to contemplate."

Mr. Shultz, speaking before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, accused one disinvestment advocate, Sen. Joseph Biden, Delaware Democrat, of calling for violence as a solution to problems in South Africa.

Although Mr. Shultz faced a barrage of criticism from senators angry over the administration policy, the most heated exchange was with Mr. Biden.

"I'm ashamed that a country put out a policy like this," Mr. Biden said, waving a copy of Mr. Shultz's testimony. "I'm ashamed for the lack of moral backbone to this policy."

"I resent that," fired back Mr. Shultz, interrupting the senator. "I resent that deeply because there is

tremendous moral backbone in that policy on a bipartisan basis and has been for many, many years."

"Hell, they [blacks] have tried compromise for 20 years," Mr. Biden said at another point. "They've tried everything in their power. They've begged. They've crawled. They are being crushed."

"You are totally misconstruing the testimony that I gave," Mr. Shultz said. "And I hate to hear a senator of the United States calling for violence."

"Obviously the blacks are repressed and change needs to be made urgently, I agree with you completely on that," Mr. Shultz said. "But I don't turn my back on the whites. They are also people ... so it isn't just a question of saying, let's just throw all the whites out and be for the blacks. What we want is a society that they can all live in together."

Mr. Biden denied he was calling for violence and said, "I speak for the oppressed, whatever they happen to be."

Mr. Shultz said disinvestment occurring through the free market is sending "a much more devastating

message than sanctions would because Pretoria cannot blame outside forces for the plunge in its currency and loss of business.

"I want forcefully to underscore the need for us to have maximum flexibility to carry out our diplomacy," Mr. Shultz said. "This is not a situation in which we can afford to be locked in the straitjacket of rigid legislation, no matter how carefully drafted to anticipate events that may or may not occur."

Mr. Shultz said sanctions would "assuage our indignation but aggravate the currently deteriorating situation" in South Africa. He reminded the committee that limited sanctions already are in place and that the United States has had a South African arms embargo for the past 20 years.

The Senate Republican leadership, disappointed that President Reagan offered nothing new in his Tuesday speech on South Africa, is working on an economic sanctions package designed to show black South Africans that the United States is putting pressure on the white minority government to share power.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar said he feared the blacks in South Africa would turn to revolution if they believe no other nations are helping to force the government to dismantle apartheid.

"I had hoped the president would have used this occasion for an extraordinary message to the world," Mr. Lugar said, noting Mr. Reagan "still has the opportunity to take the high road. ... I still hope he'll do that."

Mr. Lugar has suggested sanctions proposed by leaders of a Commonwealth panel that he said would hurt white South Africans. They include ending landing rights for South African airlines, making it harder for South Africans to obtain visas to travel to the United States

and a freeze of U.S. bank accounts of South African citizens.

Mr. Shultz also said:

• The administration is prepared to take coordinated action with U.S. allies "to change the mix of our pressures, positive and negative, to meet the rapidly changing course of events in South Africa." He said he hopes British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe's mission to South

Africa for the 13-nation European Community will produce results.

• He will meet with the leader of the outlawed African National Congress, Oliver Tambo.

• Mr. Reagan will nominate a new U.S. ambassador to South Africa.

• The House-passed disinvestment bill is "a declaration of economic war against the people of southern Africa" that would "end our capacity to have any positive influence on the struggle for justice and human rights."

While defending Mr. Reagan's anti-sanctions stand, Mr. Shultz was conciliatory, saying the president is waiting until early September before deciding whether to continue a limited sanctions package that includes a ban on importing the gold Kruggerand and on bank loans to the Pretoria government.

Mr. Shultz repeated elements of Mr. Reagan's speech, saying the South African government should set a timetable for ending apartheid, immediately release all political prisoners, remove the ban on opposition groups and end the state of emergency.

But Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, Kansas Republican and chairman of the

subcommittee on African affairs, said she was "deeply disappointed" Mr. Reagan didn't instill "a renewed vigor" in U.S. policy toward South Africa.

"I believe the time for quiet persuasion has passed," she said.

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole said he had hoped the president's speech "would have been a little better" but warned: "If we end up with a piece of legislation subject to extended and divisive debate — and generating a presidential veto — then we are not going to send the kind of clear, strong message that will do any good."

Sen. Orrin Hatch, Utah Republican, has said the United States should have more contacts with black labor leaders in South Africa instead of seeking a dialogue with members of the outlawed African National Congress who use violent tactics for change.

CIA Director William Casey has denied a report in The New York Times that the United States has

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given South Africa intelligence information on the African National Congress, Mr. Shultz said.

In a letter to John Poindexter, the president's national security affairs adviser, 31 House conservatives wrote: "We believe that any policy that implicitly accepts the ANC/SAPC [South Africa Communist Party] alliance as a legitimate representative of black interests would be a moral outrage, a sharp blow to the hope for a peaceful solution in South Africa, and contrary to the best instincts of the American people."